608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give [562] his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

572 608 628 There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 628 is divided into zones settled by different clans which are often hostile to each other, the individual can depend only on his clansmen. When he goes abroad, outside his clan's sphere of influence, he must look for personal friends and secure their pledge of protection, thus making possible his sojourn in strange parts of the land. This is the reason why traders enter into the greatest number of brotherhood pacts. People who never leave their hillsides do not make this pact, and pacts between the inhabitants of the same hillside also are not common.

572 608 Brotherhood is sealed by special ceremonies. On the day of the pact the one who wants to enter into brotherhood goes to the house of his future blood brother, accompanied by a witness. He is received there also in the presence of a witness. All four men sit down on a mat on the hut floor. The articles necessary for the ceremony are placed beside them: mutsima, stiff millet mush; a knife; and a hoe.

The witness of the guest takes the knife and makes a scratch to the right of the latter's navel. He catches the blood on a piece of mutsima and hands the knife to the witness of the houseowner, who repeats the same ceremony with his candidate. The two blood brothers then eat each other's blood along with the mutsima. Then the first witness takes the knife, begins to sharpen it on his skin, and says:

[244] Mwumwe! Ntuza yaniwanye na ntuza.
Harken! This one enters into blood brotherhood with that one.

Elmwa kanaka uramuka umutatiye iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Hear you (this one), if you dare betray him, this vow will kill you.

Akomerekera mw' itawalo wanga kumuheka, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
If he is wounded in battle, you refuse to carry (him), this vow will kill you.

Umushigisha amata iwawe, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you him milk yours, this vow will kill you.

Wanga kumuheka, yarwaliye mw' itawalo, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you to carry, when he falls in battle, this vow will kill you.

572 608 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
(If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 608 431 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 608 614 628 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 608 614 178 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its significance. This may be considered a result of state organization which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organization. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem